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THE MEDIEVAL GLOBE

The Medieval Globe (TMG) provides an interdisciplinary forum for scholars of all world areas by focusing on convergence, movement, and interdependence. Contributions to a global understanding of the medieval period (broadly defined) need not encompass the globe in any territorial sense. Rather, TMG advances a new theory and praxis of medieval studies by bringing into view phenomena that have been rendered practically or conceptually invisible by anachronistic boundaries, categories, and expectations. TMG also broadens discussion of the ways in which medieval processes inform the global present and shape visions of the future.

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The mark of The Medieval Globe was designed by Matthew Peterson and draws on elements derived from six different medieval world maps.

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THINKING GLOBALLY:
MANDEVILLE, MEMORY, AND MAPPAEMUNDI

JOHN WYATT GREENLEE AND ANNA FORE WAYMACK

THE TRAVELS OF Sir John Mandeville, the fourteenth-century "first-person" account of a fictional English knight's adventurous journey to Jerusalem and across the world, is difficult to teach.[1] Popular with medieval European audiences, the book troubles today's students with its confusing descriptions of global geography, its treatment of non-Christian, non-European peoples, and its constant conflation of fact and fable. But, as those who have taught it can attest, it can serve as a valuable tool for challenging students' preconceptions of an isolated European Middle Ages. It introduces them to an unreliable narrator and to tensions between the doctrines of the institutional Roman church and individual faith. The author's global perspective shows students a world of diverse religions, ethnicities, races, diets, customs, and sexualities. And the *Travels* does this while being relatively short and entertaining, pulling the reader through the map via its engaging narrative of landscaped vignettes. Moreover, the *Travels* was an astoundingly widely read text in Europe, coming down to us in more than three hundred extant manuscript copies and an even larger number of later printed editions.[2] Iain Higgins, in the introduction to his edition, observes that the *Travels* was unparalleled in its spread: Marco Polo's book exists in only half the number of copies, Dante's appeal was largely regional, and the other works with comparable distribution

1 For the sake of simplicity, we refer to the author of the *Travels* as John Mandeville, the name of the narrator. Although this is common practice among Mandeville scholars, the authorial persona is unstable. We have no compelling evidence of "John Mandeville" as a historical figure, or even as a single person, and many of the book's ostensibly first-person accounts are lifted wholesale from other sources.

2 Deluz, *Le Livre*, 370–82. Deluz's list does not include the numerous printed versions of the text.

were saints' lives or tales of Alexander the Great.[3] The text's wide cultural reach therefore offers a broad window into medieval European ideas about the world, and its varied textual tradition can acquaint students with the often novel concept of books as unstable artifacts.

For all this, however, the *Travels* also presents a number of obstacles to teachers and students. Its genre is elusive: is it a pilgrim's itinerary? a romance? an encyclopedia? Carol Symes introduced this very journal by asking these kinds of questions about Mandeville: what was it "supposed to be about?" How was it understood?[4] The text's array of seemingly random (and frequently suspect) factoids, agglomerated from myriad earlier sources, leads many students to doubt its value—and the scenes grow increasingly surreal as the text progresses beyond Jerusalem. Furthermore, its curious geography can trouble those trained in modern map literacies. Many readers attempt to drop the territories represented by the author into a Google Maps framework, becoming frustrated when this proves impossible. Students are not alone in this: the effort to fix Mandeville's journeys into a standard cartographic framework has historically bedevilled many of the text's editors and commentators, as well. For example, Anthony Bale's translation (2012), a popular edition for classroom use, introduces the text with a set of maps which helpfully locate all of the "identifiable places" in the book—an approach that leaves much of Mandeville's world unaccounted for.[5]

In 2015, Greenlee responded to the geographical challenges of teaching the *Travels* by digitally mapping its locations on to the thirteenth-century Hereford Map, creating the online resource "The Mapping Mandeville Project" in order to disrupt the mindset with which his students approached this text.[6] The website allows students to see these places located on a map that operates under the same cartographic and geographic principals as the text. Subsequently, Waymack borrowed the site for her own seminars. The evident connections between famous medieval *mappaemundi* (maps of the world) and the *Travels* convinced us that medieval literary mappings such as this one might constitute an actual genre of cartographic production.

In the meantime, Waymack had been experimenting with using medieval memory techniques, especially memory paths, in her day-to-day life: reminders, grocery lists, or pieces of information were mapped on to remembered sites

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3 Higgins, "Introduction," in Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, xiii. See further discussion of its diverse manuscript tradition below.

4 Symes, "Introducing *The Medieval Globe*," 1.

5 See Bale, "Introduction," in Mandeville, *The Book of Marvels*, ed. Bale, xxxix and xl.

6 Greenlee, "The Mapping Mandeville Project": http://historiacartarum.org/john-mandeville-and-the-hereford-map–2 (accessed May 22, 2018).

along real routes, in and around Ithaca, New York. Such techniques exploit the comparative ease of remembering images and spatial arrangements.[7] Following one of these routes on her way to teach the *Travels*, she connected her practice with Mandeville's narrative technique. If the *Travels* gave its readers a geographic framework, then it also gave them a scaffolding on which to build a mnemonic system. Through its network of itineraries, the *Travels* lays out a global space for the reader to imagine and inhabit, prefurnished with unique peoples, places, and things, both wonderful and grotesque, that could serve as nodes for mnemonic retention. Because it functions as a *mappamundi*, the text is also a ready-made memory palace, overlaying ancient mnemonic techniques onto the medieval world.

This article will advance these intertwined arguments in further detail. First, we demonstrate that texts could be maps and that the *Travels* forms a complete, contemporary *mappamundi*. Second, we posit that this understanding of Mandeville reveals its mnemonic function, which in turn helps to explain the wide variability, in form and content, that characterizes its robust corpus of manuscripts. Together, these arguments raise the question of what we can learn from recognizing the *Travels* as an immensely popular, immensely variable, prefabricated, modular mnemonic device. We hold that the multilingual proliferation of the *Travels*, combined with its mnemonic function as a *mappamundi*, prompted its many reader-users to shape their intellects and memories into *mappaemundi*, fostering a global way of thinking. Yet while the *Travels* purports to encompass the entire world, it nonetheless narrates, constructs, and transmits a Christian, European paradigm. Our approach, then, focuses on the ways in which medieval and early modern Europeans used the book to understand, apprehend, and think through the world.

Maps of Text

Although most modern scholars have confined themselves to thinking about the ways that Mandeville's book is either *like* a map or appears alongside maps, both of these approaches are problematic. Asa Mittman's recent essay exposes the notably small number of occasions when the text accompanies a diagrammatic

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7 It is worth noting more recent studies of memory and space. Klaus Gramann, Paul Hoepner, and Katja Karrer-Gauss found they could significantly improve study participants' memories by tying either impersonal or personally relevant information to landmarks along a route. Their study suggests that spatial knowledge and incidental knowledge (when placed on that space) are mutually supportive, and that making the information tied to landmarks personal for the user did not significantly improve retention over impersonal information. See: Gramann, Hoepner, and Karrer-Gauss, "Modified Navigation Instructions," 1–10.

map.[8] And merely thinking about the *Travels* as similar to a map runs the real risk of imposing modern perceptions of mapping on to both the *Travels*, as Charles Moseley does when he notes that a map offered by the *Travels* would be "not spatial, as ours might be, but narrative, mnemonic and ideological."[9] The spatial component in Mandeville—as in more explicitly visual representations of the medieval world—matters greatly; indeed, it is integral to the text's mnemonic and narrative functions. It is not enough to understand the *Travels* as resembling a *mappamundi*, or somehow being analogous to a *mappamundi*. We assert, instead, that it is a *mappamundi*.

Our modern map-literate culture makes clear distinctions between written descriptions and visual representations of space, and we tend to reserve the term "map" for this latter category. Essential to our definition, as Christian Jacob notes, is the map's ability to create "a 'view of the world' by means of a projection in two or three dimensions on any given medium";[10] while textual components may supplement the map's visual projection, they cannot supplant it.[11] This understanding is an essentially anachronistic one, and medieval uses of the map display a tremendous amount of slippage between what we now consider to be discrete categories of representation. Alfred Hiatt has suggested that some of the oldest extant encyclopedic geographies in the European tradition—those of Paulus Orosius (fl. ca. 400 CE) and Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636)—may well have been conceived and composed with the aid of visual maps.[12] Patrick Gautier Dalché's work on the twelfth-century *Expositio mappa mundi* demonstrates a close connection between the text's account of the world and the geography of the later Hereford Map.[13] And, as Jacob notes, visual maps produced well into the Renaissance often bore the title *descriptio*, a "writing around" of the world.[14]

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8 Gramann, Hoepner, and Karrer-Gauss, "Modified Navigation Instructions," 3–5.

9 Moseley, "Mandeville and Moral Geography," 4.

10 Jacob, *The Sovereign Map*, 99.

11 Jacob makes this point abundantly clear in his thoughtful and thorough attempt to find a working definition for "map" as a term: *The Sovereign Map*, 11–101.

12 Hiatt, "Worlds in Books," 40.

13 Gautier Dalché, "Décrire le monde," 343–409. In talking about Mandeville's textual map, we have chosen to omit graphic images of maps such as the Hereford Map. Many of these maps and manuscripts have been digitized and are readily accessible online.

14 Jacob, *The Sovereign Map*, 19.

Not only could visual maps be labelled "descriptions," but wholly textual surveys could be called "maps."[15] Like its Latin root, *mappa*, a *mappamundi* was a blank sheet on which a world was inscribed, and could be text-based as readily as image-based.[16] Many self-identified maps offer up the world as lists of cities or provinces, sometimes arranged in a geographical schema, as on the neglected verso of the popularly-cited thirteenth-century Psalter Map, a map at the front of a psalter.[17] More often, however, these catalogues of places are simply set out as a directory of names in what Evelyn Edson calls "list maps."[18] The English chronicler Ranulf Higden (ca. 1280–1364), a rough contemporary of "John Mandeville," dedicated the first book of his *Polychronicon* to a periphrastic description of the earth that he called a *mappamundi*—a text which often, though not always, came accompanied by a graphic map.[19] His twelfth-century predecessor, Gervase of Canterbury (ca. 1141–1210), produced a topographical overview of England comprised primarily of tables and lists which he titled, with insular bravado, a *mappamundi*.[20] Gervase's cavalier use of the term further suggests that he understood himself to be working within an established genre.[21]

That medieval descriptions of the world might count as maps, at least among their contemporaries, is not a new idea. David Woodward, in his essay on *mappaemundi* in *The History of Cartography*, warns that it is "unwise to assume that *mappamundi* necessarily meant a graphic depiction of the world."[22] Woodward goes on to note several texts, including those of Gervase and Higden, that apply the term to their writings. However, scholars' acceptance of this principle has generally been limited to texts that explicitly label themselves as maps. Other types of writing, such as the *Travels*, have been understood to fall outside of this category. But Mandeville, though he couches his geography within a narrative framework,

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15 David Woodward highlights the flexibility of these terms by pointing to London, British Library, Harley MS 3373, an imageless manuscript entitled "mappa mundi sive orbis descriptio": "Medieval Mappaemundi," 287.

16 Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi," 287.

17 London, British Library, Add. MS 28681, fol. 9r–v: www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_28681_f009r (accessed May 30, 2018).

18 Edson, *The World Map*, 5–6.

19 Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. 1, 1–431; vol. 2, 1–174.

20 Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, 419–49.

21 Woodward and others spend time on the historical use of the term *mappamundi*, but as a genre of writing it is largely unstudied.

22 Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi," 286.

nonetheless offers a tour of the world that largely reverses the direction of the global itinerary in Higden's text. It slips easily across the permeable border between *descriptio* and *mappamundi*. It does not call itself a map, but it is one.

And in fact, many scholars have tested the strength of the text's correspondence to visual renderings of the world, specifically *mappaemundi*, which not only sketched spatial relationships but served as knowledge compendia, mapping the Christological history of the world onto a global geographic imaginary. Indeed, some of the five primary English translations of the *Travels* make this comparison explicit in a self-congratulatory coda attributed to the author, which includes an unnamed pope testing and confirming the validity of the narrator's story against a *mappamundi*.[23] In the 1940s, Malcolm Letts drew clear point-by-point comparisons between Mandeville's text and the same Hereford Map which was the basis for Greenlee's own mapping exercise.[24] Higgins and Moseley have each noted the close similarities between the *Travels* and *mappaemundi*, including both the Hereford and Ebstorf maps.[25] Evelyn Edson sees Mandeville as using the familiar *mappaemundi* framework as a guide, at least at the beginning of the *Travels*, and both Geraldine Heng and Rosemary Tzanaki have noted the systemic parallels between Mandeville and the *mappamundi* tradition.[26]

Even those writers who reject the *mappaemundi* parallels see other varieties of mapping reflected in the text. Gautier Dalché has argued that the Mandeville author was "playing a literary game" with a map already familiar to his readers.[27] Christiane Deluz argues that Mandeville offers a new perception of the world that works better when applied to a three-dimensional globe, such as those later produced by Martin Behaim (1459–1507).[28] Karma Lochrie, among others, has paid more attention to the route-planning aspects of Mandeville's text, connecting it to the itinerary maps of Matthew Paris (1200–1259).[29] All generally agree that

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23 Mandeville, *The Travels*, ed. and trans. Moseley, 189.

24 Letts, *Sir John Mandeville,* 101–6.

25 Higgins, *Writing East*, 127–44; "Defining the Earth's Center," 50; Moseley, "Moral Geography," passim. For a detailed reproduction of the Hereford map, see: http://historiacartarum.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Hereford-Reproduction-Detailed.jpg (accessed May 31, 2018). For an annotated reproduction of the now-destroyed Ebstorf map, see: www.uni-lueneburg.de/hyperimage/EbsKart/start.html (accessed May 31, 2018).

26 Heng, *Empire of Magic*, 258–63; Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences*,181–83; Edson, "Travelling on the Mappamundi," 389–404.

27 Gautier Dalché, "Maps, Travel, and Exploration," 158.

28 Deluz, *Le Livre*, 189–90, 399–401.

29 Lochrie, *Nowhere in the Middle Ages*, 97–106.

Mandeville offers an explication of geographic thought: the connection between Mandeville and medieval cartography is not in doubt.

To date, a major obstacle to understanding this has been the consensus among scholars that, for one reason or another, the text does not conform to the requirements of a *mappamundi*. It has been argued that the book includes elements of too many discordant mapping genres.[30] Or, it has been contended, the *Travels* works to decentre Jerusalem and thus undermines the structural rationale that a *mappamundi* requires.[31] In contrast to a map on a wall or in the hand, the text's linear unfolding and non-graphical format prevents the audience from seeing Jerusalem at the centre, always with the same structure-destroying effect.[32] To some extent, these objections speak to differences in how we ourselves read and use visual maps; we are used to thinking of maps as something we can spread out on the table and take in all at once. However, anyone without preternaturally acute eyesight would never be able to fully encompass the large Hereford or Ebstorf *mappaemundi* in a single visual sweep. As Marcia Kupfer notes in her book on the optics of the Hereford Map, its size and abundance of details pull viewers into following individual stories and pathways. The map provides a framework that allows its audience to keep in mind their position relative to Jerusalem at the centre, but does not allow for a global view while they are engaged in examining specific scenes or sections.[33] The *Travels*, too, invites that type of close-up viewing.

In other ways, this tendency to highlight the *Travels*' departures from visual maps stems, at least in part, from scholars' habit of expecting a one-to-one correspondence between Mandeville and one of the canonical *mappaemundi* to have come down to us. Heng, for example, argues for a sharp distinction between *mappaemundi* and Mandeville by contending that the *Travels* codes the distant edges of the world as explicitly Christian, while the Hereford Map instead gives its audience a periphery of monsters.[34] Certainly, Heng and others are correct in

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30 Lochrie, *Nowhere in the Middle Ages*, 90–100.

31 Lochrie, *Nowhere in the Middle Ages*, 90–100; Deluz, *Le Livre*, 20.

32 Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center," 49–50.

33 Kupfer, *Art and Optics in the Hereford Map*, 47 57, 66, 80–81. The current Hereford Cathedral website takes visitors through this very sort of zoomed-in approach to reading the map. The site's interactive tool discourages the holistic view (one actively angled and distorted) in favour of inescapable scene-oriented travels across the world. See "Mappa Mundi Exploration," *Mappa Mundi Hereford*: www.themappamundi.co.uk/mappa-mundi (accessed May 31, 2018).

34 Heng, *Empire of Magic*, 271. Heng's interpretation, though compelling, overlooks the Hereford Map's largely Christological framing apparatus and iconography at its periphery.

observing these differences, but it does not follow that the Mandeville text itself cannot be a map. If the *Travels* cannot be mapped on to any particular visual *mappamundi*, neither can any one of these maps be seamlessly overlaid onto another. Despite their similarities, the Hereford and Ebstorf maps differ significantly in many particulars, and neither offers a direct correspondence to one of the Beatus maps, or to the Psalter Map, or to any other known *mappamundi*.[35] Rather, they align broadly in form and orientation, in their Christological geographies, and in their focus on didactic and mnemonic storytelling. And so does the *Travels*.

Indeed, the text's storytelling components make for the easiest points of correspondence with *mappaemundi* and scholars, from at least Letts onward, have paid them the most attention. Many of the *Travels*' vignettes, such as the descriptions of monstrous races or the existential threat of Gog and Magog, match content found on the visual maps.[36] Likewise, the spiritual and moral geographies that mark the *mappaemundi* as part of an identifiable cartographic type find their way into the *Travels.* On multiple occasions, Mandeville tells his audience that Jerusalem sits in the centre of the world and describes the important sites of the Holy Land. He sets a terrestrial paradise in the uttermost east, and writes about the four major rivers that flow from Eden out into the world.[37] Verbally, the author fills his world with the same content that gives flesh to the bones of the visual maps.

Moreover, Mandeville's method of describing the physical world as a container for these locales also accords with the ways that *mappaemundi* artists tended to portray the world. Medieval *mappaemundi* are most often oriented eastward, setting Eden in the Far East at the top of the map and following the course of history westward down the sheet. A European viewer, looking from the more familiar

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Some of those elements are relatively straightforward, such as the Dry Tree near Paradise (which Mandeville sets in the Holy Land). Others are subtler, such as the city of Naddaber in Ethiopia, which the map highlights for its many dragons (*naddaber civitas draconibus plena*). However, Naddaber is not included on the Hereford map solely for its monsters: the city and the "wyrms" recall the story of St. Matthew, who converted the city after defeating its magician overlords and their pet dragons. See Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 140.

35 For an exemplary Beatus map, see: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8878, fols. 45bisv–45ter [text I, map II]: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505441p/f104. image (accessed May 31, 2018).

36 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 116–29, 157–58. We rely on this edition in particular because it presents the most standardized version of Mandeville's prologue and because Higgins's translation of the French branch of the textual tradition is also informed by two of the primary English manuscripts. For more on the messy history of transmission we recommend the graphs and charts in Higgins, *Writing East*, 21–23.

37 Higgins, *Writing East*, 179–81.

landscape of their own present, moves visually from the bottom upward toward more physically and temporally distant geographies.[38] The *Travels*, like these graphic maps, points the audience toward the east. The reader proceeds through the text from England to Paradise—from the farthest west to the most distant east—in a way that demands engagement with the geographic directionality of the journey. Mandeville reinforces this orientation through textual indicators, at one point writing that "one should carry all diamonds on the left side, and [doing so] is of greater power than [carrying them] on the right, for the strength of their birth comes from the north, which is on the left side of the world, and to a man's left side when he turns his face eastward."[39] Here the text expects and encourages an eastward-facing audience, offering an explicit reminder that the north occupies a position both on the geographic left of the map and on the left side of the reader observing that map. That combination sets the east squarely in front of the *Travels*' audience, creating what J. B. Harley called a "subliminal geometry" that imbues the east with authority and pre-eminence in the same way that Eden's location at the top of a visual map emphasizes its importance.[40] The reader looks up and forward toward divinity.

The *Travels* also gives a detailed accounting of its map's extent and shape. At one point, in the middle of describing the land of Lamory (Sumatra), the author breaks away from his itineraries and ethnographies to give the reader a thorough overview of the earth's physical shape and size. He provides "proof" of its spherical nature by claiming to have made measurements of the North Star and its southern equivalent via an astrolabe.[41] He goes on to give the circumference in miles, using figures drawn from Ptolemy and Eratosthenes, and describing the proper methodology for arriving at those numbers.[42] The globe, according to Mandeville, is not merely measurable; it is circumnavigable. He notes that, in his own travels, he has personally "seen three quarters of all the roundness of the firmament and 5 and a half degrees more," and that one could go further and travel fully around the

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38 This mode of reading maps is explicitly rendered in Matthew Paris's itinerary maps from the mid-thirteenth century, which take the reader-user along the pilgrim path between London and Rome along a road that starts at the bottom of the page and runs up and away from the reader-user. See: London, British Library, Royal 14 C. VII, fol. 2: www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_14_c_vii_f001v (accessed May 31, 2018).

39 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 99.

40 Harley, "Maps, Knowledge and Power," 288–90.

41 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 111–12.

42 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 115.

earth.[43] In fact, he belabours the point, writing in rapid succession that "if a man found passage by ship and people who wanted to go explore the world, he could sail all around the world, both above and below"; that "[i]f I had found company and ship to go farther, I believe it to be certain that we would have seen the whole roundness of the firmament all around"; and that "I say for certain that a man could travel around all the land in the world, both below and above, and return to his own country, if he had company and shipping."[44] In a striking anecdote, he relates the tale of a man who had once sailed around the world and had come again, unaware, to his homeland before giving up and turning back:

> [A] brave young man once left from our regions to go explore the world. He passed India and the islands beyond India [...] and he went so far by sea and by land, and he went round so much of the world through many seasons that he found an island where he heard his own language spoken and the oxen called with the same words as in his own country. [...] I say that he had gone so far by land and by sea that he had gone around the whole earth, that he came back having gone right round to his own borderlands— and if he had gone forward he would have found his own country and his own knowledge. But he went back by the way he had come and lost much effort.[45]

This adventure is not the narrator's own, yet it is a synopsis of the entire text, the journey made and retraced in such a way as to leave no doubt regarding the world's shape. It presents a faceless explorer whose journey outward leads him to see the familiar anew, and whose return home results in unrealized recognition. For the reader, this man offers the generalized possibility of doing the same, making this a universalized experience grounded in one's own home and encompassing the entire world.[46]

This section of the text, which Higgins terms the "Lamorian excursus," has long stood out because it marks a curious break from both the narrative and, apparently, the thematic rationale of the text.[47] At first blush, it also seems like a point of departure from the *Travels* as a *mappamundi*: maps like Hereford or Ebstorf give the visual impression of the world as a flat disc, rather than a sphere, and *mappaemundi* generally appear less interested in the world's measurability than

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43 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 112.

44 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 112–13.

45 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 113–14.

46 Symes, "Introducing *The Medieval Globe*," 1–2.

47 Higgins, *Writing East*, 127.

in its capacity as a story-space. However, the visual maps and the *Travels* are describing precisely the same kind of spherical world.[48] While some question whether a given *mappamundi*'s medieval audiences understood it as a sphere or a disc, the mapmakers themselves certainly intended their maps to show a sphere— or, at least, the top half of a globe.[49] This is made visible by the *mappamundi* prefacing an epitome of Mandeville's *Travels* in British Library, Additional MS 37049.[50] Here, the prefatory T-O map includes the atmospheric layers of fire and air canopying the top section of the map in the east, such that the viewer sees the curvature of the earth meeting with the sky. This perspective is certainly unusual, but even where most visual *mappaemundi* provide a more top-down view they still represent the world as a two-dimensional projection of a globe. The *Travels* was received by medieval readers as capturing this same vantage point: Tzanaki catches the Mandeville imagery copied in Christine de Pizan's vision of the world from above in *Le livre du chemin de long estude* (The Book of the Path of Long Study).[51] As mentioned above, certain English and Insular Latin versions of the *Travels* conclude with the narrator presenting his account to the pope, who checks it against a *mappamundi*, a book from which a *mappamundi* was made, or (in the Latin Bodley version) a globe.[52]

Moreover, though these medieval projections deal with issues of scale differently, *mappaemundi* nonetheless represent the world as a globe to be measured. Higden supplies similar measurements to those of the Mandeville narrator in the *mappamundi* section of his *Polychronicon*, and also mirrors Mandeville when he says that the distance between India and Gibraltar is shorter by sea, through circumnavigation, than by land.[53] The frame of the Hereford Map describes the project of measuring the orb of the world begun by Julius Caesar (*A IULIO CESARE ORBIS TERRARUM METIRI CEPIT*) and twice notes the names of the three surveyors

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48 The artificial flattening of the globe for the purposes of two-dimensional representation is still reflected in such common expressions as "the four corners of the world." (See, for example, Moseley's own language in "Moral Geography," 7).

49 For medieval reception of *mappaemundi*, see Wogan-Browne, "Reading the World," 122–23; Tattersall, "Sphere or Disc," 31–46. For *mappaemundi* as explicit projections of spheres, see Simek, "The Shape of the Earth," passim. Woodward notes, further, that the word *mappamundi* in modern Italian has a range of meanings that specifically include globes: "Medieval Mappaemundi," 287.

50 London, British Library, Add. MS 37049, fols. 2r–3v: www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer. aspx?ref=add_ms_37049_fs001r (accessed May 31, 2018).

51 Tzanaki, *Audiences*, 113.

52 Tzanaki, *Audiences*, 108; Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center," 45–46.

53 Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. 1, 44.

(Nicodoxus, Theodocus, and Policlitus) who undertook the task. That map also includes a passing reference to Eratosthenes and his methodology for global measurement. In Ethiopia, at Syene, the Hereford mapmaker included "the well of the sun, much admired" (*puteus solis multum admirabilis*): the same well that Eratosthenes used as his baseline for measuring the angle of shadows on the summer solstice.[54]

As anomalous as Mandeville's digression into measurement might seem, then, its inclusion is entirely consistent with the mechanisms by which the visual maps of his contemporaries represent and prescribe the globe. The author uses this section to provide the world's parameters, and does so in multiple registers. Citing Eratosthenes's calculations, he gives a classically grounded methodology for marking out the earth's circumference. Then, Mandeville uses his tale of the oblivious circumnavigator to personify the need for such a methodology. The scene of the adventurer's unrecognized return to his native shores draws on sound, sight, touch, and smell to emphasize the country's familiarity.[55] Our traveller ought to feel relief and joy, yet without a proper mental map or reckoning of the globe, these sensory experiences and the empirical evidence they afford spur, instead, a crisis of confusion; the traveller cannot place them or himself correctly, and so he turns back. The very strength of his sensory memory inspires dislocation and error. The author uses this story to argue that even one's most familiar experiential knowledge will prove insufficient, or worse, radically disorienting, without the kind of spatial framework that the *Travels* provides.

Paging Across the Globe

Of the more than three hundred surviving manuscript copies of the *Travels*, none contains an "original" French text, and no author has ever been identified behind the literary mask of John Mandeville.[56] Like its narrator, then, the *Travels* is a global citizen mediated by a cosmopolitan array of formats, media, and languages: we have extant versions in French, English, Latin, Czech, German, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Irish, Welsh, and Danish.[57] Various versions—even those circulating in the same language—differ strikingly in their content. They range from a metrical poem in Middle English to a solely pictorial Bohemian manuscript.[58] Medieval redactors and

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54 Westrem, *The Hereford Map*, 182–84.

55 For this observation we are indebted to Carol Symes.

56 Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 122. This number excludes adaptations of the text, such as that written by Jean d'Outremeuse (1338–1399).

57 Higgins, ed., *The Book*, xiii.

58 Moseley suggests that these recensions and variations only stabilized as print editions began to dominate the market: "Moral Geography," 3.

scribes freely translated, condensed, expanded, omitted, interpolated, augmented, illustrated, and transmuted their versions to match local needs and audiences. The usefulness of any single modern edition is therefore undercut by the work's unparalleled proliferation and divergence. Higgins has suggested "isotopes" as the appropriate descriptor for these far-flung variations: like isotopes of atoms, all of these *Travels* are formed from the same base element but exhibit important variations in mass and other properties.[59]

What unites them is a fascination with spatial representation. As Tzanaki observes, "almost every manuscript containing marginal notes betrays the readers' interest in the geographical aspects of the *Book*."[60] One copy is placed alongside an antique T-O map, an additional image of the world, schematic drawings of major cities, and a depiction of Jerusalem; another precedes a map of Jerusalem and nearby areas.[61] The owner of a manuscript containing the text of the *Travels*, other travel literature, and a map, added a note commanding that any future readers not divide the map from the texts.[62] A fourteenth-century copy has been marked up by a reader who added triangles to denote the names of cities and wavy lines next to rivers.[63] A late fifteenth-century copy juxtaposes the *Travels* with Higden's fourteenth-century *Polychronicon* and Johannes de Sacrobosco's thirteenth-century *De sphaera mundi*, two texts which describe the terrestrial world and its place in the cosmos.[64] And Mittman has speculated that never-drawn maps were intended to fill empty spaces in British Library, MS Harley 3954.[65]

In any of these formats, the *Travels* does more than describe a global geography. It also models it through the book's physical interactions with the reader. Slowly turning each page reproduces, like a geometer's compass, the arc of the

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59 Higgins, *Writing East*, 18–19. Higgins's apt terminology has gained traction in the field, and we employ it here. However, when discussing the isotopes collectively, we view the *Travels* as a multitext so as to capture its fractalized character.

60 Tzanaki, *Audiences*, 122.

61 See: Tzanaki, *Audiences*, 34, 76. The manuscripts in question are the mid-fifteenth-century London, British Library, Add. MS 37049 (fols. 2v–3r), and the late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 426 (fol. 155r). Mittman identifies early fifteenth-century British Library, MS Royal 17 C.xxxviii as another text of the *Travels* containing a small T-O map Mittman, "A Blank Space," 3–4.

62 Tzanaki, *Audiences*, 117.

63 Tzanaki, *Audiences*, 24–25: London, British Library, MS Harley 212.

64 Tzanaki, *Audiences*, 109: Durham University Library, M. Cosin V.iii.7 J. Sacrobosco's *De sphaera mundi* might have been one of Mandeville's sources; Deluz lists it as such, but Edson questions that assumption, suggesting instead Brunetto Latini (1220–1294) *Li livres dou tresor*. See Deluz, *Le Livre*, 472; Edson, *The World Map*, 257n89.

65 Mittman, "A Blank Space," 1–2 and 7.

orbis terrarum. Fanning the leaves materially replicates the half-sphere of the known world. The very pages of this hemisphere form discrete yet necessarily connected spaces, contingent parts of a whole that mimic the episodic nature of the *Travels* through their accumulation of individual, sequential locations.[66] Journeying across this globe of turning pages follows and enacts the geography which the text describes. Just as a map prompts a distinctly narrative activity, with the eye's motion creating a descriptive itinerary, so the act of reading the *Travels* produces an essentially spatial experience of the text.[67] To be sure, the medieval codex was often conceptualized as a physical space through which one traced an itinerary, a fact reflected in the frequent inclusion of an *index locorum* (an index of places) "under which a thinker organized various subjects for recall."[68] Proceeding from page to page recapitulated the itinerary of the account, and this guided motion through the text, the *ductus*, led the reader in stages from one site of knowledge to the next.

In the case of the *Travels*, the reader begins at one edge of the world and proceeds uphill across the pages toward Jerusalem, as the city rises to the top of the hemisphere. As with many other medieval *mappaemundi*, the Holy Land occupies the middle space of the text, such that opening the *Travels* to the centre brings the user into Jerusalem or its surroundings. In the Egerton manuscript (ca.1400), the narrative leaves the Holy Land on fol. 60r, close to halfway between its incipit and explicit at fols. 3r and 132v.[69] The Cotton manuscript (ca. 1400) offers a similar geography, taking the reader away from the Holy Land on fol. 60v (out of 132 leaves).[70] In another version, the Holy Land section ends at the bottom of fol. 31v in a work that spans sixty-three folios.[71] Mandeville also foregrounds Jerusalem's upcoming geographic and symbolic centrality in his prologue, writing that the region around Jerusalem "is the heart and the middle of all the land of the world,

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66 Here we reference the medieval practice of regarding the physical layout of a single page as a static aid to memory, analogous to our later discussion of *loci* and *isolarii*. See Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 172.

67 Jacob, *The Sovereign Map*, 394. (*Titulus dicitur a Titane. i. a sole, quia, sicut sol illuminat mundum, ita et titulus librum*): *In Artem Donati minorem commentum*, 1–2. See also Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 109.

68 Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 178. For the manner in which the *index locorum* shifted from being a mnemonic structuring of topics to a written guide, see Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 122–23.

69 London, British Library, MS Egerton 1982: www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8685 (accessed June 4, 2018).

70 London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus C.xvi.

71 New Haven, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Osborn a55 (ca. 1440).

and just as the philosopher says, '*Virtus rerum in medio consistit'*": the worth of things stands in middle.[72] Emphasizing his understanding of Christological history, the author writes that Jesus lived and died in the middle of the world so that his message could reach all lands equally.[73]

The significance of this centred space finds reflection not only in its positioning, but also in its relative size within the text's world. Graphic *mappaemundi* often employ what Suzanne Lewis calls a "symbolic scale," granting outsized territorial prominence to the Holy Land in accordance with its cultural and religious importance.[74] The *Travels* does this also: in most copies, the description of the Holy Land accounts for roughly a third of the entire volume.[75] And not only does Mandeville's Holy Land occupy the middle of his map, it also stands atop the round globe, analogous to how we think of the North Pole. The *Travels* tells us that England and Europe sit "in the low part of the world" and that, in journeying to the Holy Land "one is always climbing."[76] In Mandeville's telling, Jerusalem's terrestrial position is simultaneously central and superior, and the physical spaces of the book replicates this: after the user passes the centre and travels beyond Jerusalem, they start back downhill again—just as Mandeville describes—toward the Antipodes and Paradise at the far edge of the textual world. Their journey inscribes the written world into visual, tangible, cartographic space.[77]

Island Hodology

On their passage through the pages of this textual globe, readers follow a series of narratively described pathways that help to lend coherence to the geography of the world. In the first half of his book, Mandeville lays out three primary ways for travellers to reach the Holy Land from western Europe: one by sea, an itinerary

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72 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 3.

73 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 4.

74 Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, 322.

75 Edson, *The World Map*, 105.

76 Edson, *The World Map*, 113.

77 In an analogous case, Hiatt ("Worlds in Books," 44) describes the "Globus Terre" of Lambert of Saint-Omer's encyclopedic *Liber Floridus* (ca. 1090–1120) as a world in a book. It is also, however, the book *as* the world: in one twelfth-century copy, uninhabitable regions and celestial orbits, marked in red, fall away into the inaccessible crevice of the manuscript's gutter: Ghent, University Library, MS 92, fols. 92v–93r. Two similar *mappaemundi* in another twelfth-century copy span the manuscript gutter: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1 Gud. lat. (Katalog-Nr. 4305), fols. 59v–60r and 69v–70r. On book gutters as uncrossable barriers dividing the habitable and the uninhabitable parts of the world, see Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, 58–59.

that runs through Cyprus to either Jaffa or Egypt; a second by land, following the route of the First Crusade across Asia Minor; and a third that runs through eastern Europe and "Tartary," swinging around the Black Sea and approaching the Holy Land through the Caucasus Mountains.[78] These multiple opportunities, although they may seem narratively redundant, act to lace the world with memorial routes, binding discrete settings, or *loci*, together and thereby fixing these pathways in the space of one's memory. As with the account of any pilgrimage, reading the *Travels* recreates the journey vicariously for armchair travellers, allowing them to "walk" through the textual landscape and experience the space in which the stories unfolded.[79] Each narrative event thereby creates a virtual memory of its terrestrial place and connects it to the reader's memory of its place in the book's geography.[80]

The value of these pathways for structuring and remembering the world of the text has not gone unnoticed, especially with respect to the *Travels*' first section. Bale notes that the first dozen chapters follow the model of pilgrims' itineraries, with "highly sequential lists of *loci* (places) to be visited." Heng identifies individual early scenes as "miniature windows on the world—framed views that open onto scenarios of time, place, and culture."[81] Once the text moves downhill past Jerusalem, however, many scholars suggest that the *Travels* departs from these clear pathways and that the structure of the work abruptly collapses. One particular point of concern has been the *Travels*' emphasis on disconnected islands as synecdoches for eastern (Oriental) spaces. Whereas the western world had been held together by proscribed routes, the multiplicity of mysterious isles emerging in the text's second half gives the impression of a shattered and incoherent space.[82] If this were the case, then both the Christological globe and a locational memory system based on it must perforce fall apart.

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78 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 77–80.

79 Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 40–44, 109–10, 200.

80 Daniel Connolly has made a similar argument about the relationship between a text's reader and their internally created spaces in his analysis of Matthew Paris's itinerary maps. Of note, especially, is Connolly's focus on the phenomenology of reading through physical interactions with the text and the pages, Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, 60–61.

81 Bale, "Introduction," in Mandeville, *The Book*, xxii; Heng, *Empire of Magic*, 241–42, 248. See also Lochrie, *Nowhere in the Middle Ages*, 102.

82 As just two examples, Bale finds an absence of paths and *loci* after Jerusalem and the traditional pilgrimage routes (Mandeville, *The Book*, xii–xiii), while Greenblatt believes that, after Jerusalem and the move away from a known destination, there is "an abandonment of the dream of a sacred center upon which all routes converge and a turning instead toward diversity, difference, the bewildering variety of 'marvellous things,'" such that "the roads give out": Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 29, 30.

But Mandeville's isles are not so disparate as they at first appear. True, there are places in the *Travels* where "isles" are individuated spaces widely set apart by trackless waters: the author's descriptions of Java and Sumatra, for example.[83] But these sections also mirror parts of the earlier text, where Mandeville plaits the European part of his travels with a similar island hodology. After all, he begins his travels on an island, telling the reader that he left England on Michaelmas Day in 1322.[84] Shortly thereafter, his broader description of pilgrimage routes emphasizes islands as sites of departure, with possible itineraries starting from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.[85] Indeed, there is a long medieval literary and cartographic tradition of depicting Britain as set distinctly apart from Europe. Above, we noted that Gervase of Canterbury allowed England to stand in for the world at large. Higden, drawing on William of Malmesbury (1080–1143) and Isidore of Seville (560–636), calls England an *alterius orbis* (other world) and *extra orbem posita* (placed outside of the world), while Gerald of Wales (1146–1223) makes an extended argument for Ireland as set apart from the rest of the continent, marking it as a pole of the terrestrial paradise.[86] The conceptual distance from these islands to the mainland of Europe was thus more significant than their physical proximity might suggest.

Islands figure prominently in the description of Europe, too, as the *Travels* passes through the multiple islands of the Aegean, en route from Italy to Jerusalem.[87] For all that these island spaces are set apart by water and culture, the *Travels*' dynamic itinerary and geographic framework link them closely together. This is the case with the more exotic islands, as well: Mandeville provides a sailing itinerary from isle to isle around Sumatra, just as he does for the Mediterranean. Moseley correctly notes that Mandeville follows "the convention where each country is an 'isle' […] and only the sensibility of the traveller as he moves from one to the other links them."[88] But it is not only the imagined traveller who performs this linkage; the reader's emplacement of each island on the pages of the textual world, and their

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83 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 116–22.

84 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 5.

85 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 7. In the English cartographic tradition, exemplified by the Hereford Map and Matthew Paris's maps, Scotland is rendered as an island: see, for example, London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius D VI: www.bl.uk/collection-items/matthew-paris-map-of-britain (accessed May 31, 2018).

86 Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. 2, 6, and 10. Gerald of Wales, *History and Topography of Ireland*, 33–56. For a detailed treatment of these issues, see: Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World*, passim.

87 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 77.

88 Moseley, "Mandeville and Moral Geography," 6.

creation of a connected itinerary through the act of reading, also creates coherence. As a result, the islands of the east are no more geographically distinct than those of the west.

To be sure, the text describes more islands in the later sections of the *Travels* than in those focused on Europe and the Mediterranean world. As Yi-Fu Tuan has noted, islands were privileged spaces in the European imaginary, in no small part because of their singular capacity to contain and display the memorable and worthwhile.[89] Hence, Mandeville consistently intersperses his account of shipboard travel with descriptions of island spaces holding such wonders as men drinking blood and eating their dead friends, self-sacrificing fish, and a necrophiliac couple whose spawn sinks an entire island. Such fantastical shores, with their monstrous inhabitants, lend themselves easily to the formation of memorial pictures. Moreover, the process of describing these islands fixes them in place and prevents them from being rendered as unmapped, uncharted spaces.[90]

Perhaps the best premodern European example of this can be found in the popular fifteenth-century *isolarii*—mnemonic island proto-atlases that "were initially conceived as 'containers' of wonders that could be added to or amended by the reader."[91] Each leaf of these "island books" marks out a separate insular or litoral example; isolated, as the Italian word suggests, from its book-bound neighbours. But the texts also connect the islands thematically in a localized geographic schema that makes the whole work accessible as a single spatial corpus. Marc Shell has suggested that the very first of these, Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum archipelagi* (1420), created the Aegean archipelago in the European imagination.[92] One could not navigate by Buondelmonti's work, but taken as a whole it carved out a mental geographic zone that allowed the reader to grasp and fix the separate islands and their pages within a usable cartographic frame.

What the *isolarii* do in discrete, foliated sections, earlier medieval mapmakers did within the frames of their representations, employing island spaces to serve as containers for place memory. Expanding on earlier examples like the various Beatus maps, the Hereford Map rims the world with a ring of islands, such as Paradise or Taprobane, which hold story-spaces. The map also turns the

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89 Tuan, *Topophilia*, 118–20.

90 We can see this process in reverse, too; it is when places fall *off* of maps that they become unmemorable again. For examples, see Ramsay, *No Longer on the Map*, passim.

91 della Dora, "Performative Atlases," 240–55. For the *isolarii* more broadly, see Tolias, "Isolarii, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century," 263–84.

92 Shell, *Islandology*, 22.

Mediterranean and the area around England into a sea of islands, many planted with meaning, stories, and significance.[93] The Catalan Atlas of 1375, which offers perhaps the best visual analogue to the *Travels*' description of the East, applies this same treatment to the Spice Islands, marking them as memorable by the stories or the treasures they produce.[94] Once mapped—once the images and the words paint a compelling picture for the audience and locate these once-unfamiliar spaces within a coherent global setting—the islands may be appropriated into the readers' mental scaffolding.

This helps to explain why Mandeville uses the term "isle" to refer to large, non-island spaces such as Cathay.[95] In doing so, the *Travels* also replicates in writing what so many other *mappaemundi* represent visually: a world cut by waters into a series of separate, but connected, spaces. The courses of rivers on many medieval maps, including the Hereford Map and the Psalter Map, have the visual effect of dividing the world into island zones. One of the best examples is of this Lambert of Saint-Omer's map of Europe in his *Liber Floridus* (ca. 1090–1120), which not only depicts western Europe as an island but also segments the continent into at least seventeen distinct island sections separated by the course of its rivers.[96] Lambert's depiction does not render these sections as unconnected, however; for him, the real segregation is suggested by the bright red lines delineating political borders, which cut across the natural boundaries of the many distinct territorial isles.

Lambert's map, like Mandeville's, captures the broader meaning of the word "isle" in both Old French and its heir, Middle English: a "domain, realm, province; [...] a detached portion of the created universe."[97] If we understand the physical structure of the text as replicating the map's materiality, these isles are like the pages of the manuscript turning—discrete parts "of the created universe" bound together to make up the whole, thanks to Mandeville's narrative itinerary. Even the positioning of Prester John's fictional Christian empire in the Far East, across the hinge of Jerusalem from Europe, reinforces the necessarily related,

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93 For the importance of the perspective of a "sea of islands," as well as the phrasing, see Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," 31.

94 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, esp. 30: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55002481n/f1.image (accessed May 31, 2018).

95 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 27.

96 Gent, University Library, MS 92, fol. 241r: https://lib.ugent.be/viewer/archive.ugent.be%3A018970A2-B1E8–11DF-A2E0-A70579F64438#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=249&r=0&xywh=–1291%2C–511%2C13890%2C10199 (accessed June 1, 2018).

97 "Ile (n.(1))," *Middle English Dictionary* (Regents of the University of Michigan, 2014). https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED21909 (accessed May 31, 2018).

interconnected nature of these lands. A pathless void or random gathering of pages would deform the world, but this is not the map Mandeville offers. For the reader mentally walking across the text and visualizing it along the way, the act of moving from scene to scene, page to page, creates a series of paths across the face of a narrative world and enables a measured and connected cartographic memory.

The Geographies of Memory

Yi-Fu Tuan has argued that it is our individual movements through the world which beget a sense of space, while pauses in motion leave room for the creation of place.[98] For the reader-user of the *Travels*, the physical transition from page to page works with the vivid descriptions of specific places to create a spatial framework. Those moments when the reader pauses to consider a scene lend a tactile reality to the narrative locale. As a result, the reader-user recalls the text's episode and vignettes as much for their physical location within the text as for their place in the larger story. In this way, the *Travels* deploys the materiality of the codex to create active participants in the creation of its *mappamundi*. This constructive mental mapping in turn allowed Mandeville's readers to render the entire world— rather than just isolated fragments of it—into a memory aide. Recall, for example, the cautionary tale of Mandeville's hapless circumnavigator, whose unmapped knowledge of his own home disoriented him. His localized knowledge of that place turned out to be useless without a global knowledge of its context.

The idea of using the earth itself as a storehouse for memory is an ancient one. Augustine of Hippo (354–430 CE) describes his own memory as the world in microcosm, an almost tangible place where he can visit "the fields and vast mansions of memory" or its "secret and unimaginable caverns" where he finds all manner of stored images.[99] Nor does Augustine limit the extent of his memory space to specific terrestrial locations: "in the immense court of my memory [...] sky and earth and sea are readily available."[100] But such a vast space needs a structure for mental storage and recall: it needs to be mapped. Diagrams often formed the basis of medieval mnemonic devices, and *mappaemundi*—including textual ones—created diagrammatic spaces that allow one to organize the physical world

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98 Tuan, *Space and Place*, 3–10, 138.

99 Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, trans. Boulding, vol. 1, X.8, 244–46.

100 Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, trans. Boulding, vol. 1, X.8, 246; cf. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 181.

into a mental space suitable for remembering. Even the term for an overarching mnemonic visual, *pictura*, was explicitly applied to maps.

The mnemonic utility of the mapped world is reflected in a number of well-known medieval works on the arts of memory. *De arca Noe mystica* by Hugh of Saint-Victor (ca. 1096–1141) is a textual exemplar of *pictura* or memory palace that subdivides and arranges Noah's Ark into a hyperorganized receptacle for recalling the history of the world, remembering the virtues and vices, and retaining all manner of information. The ark, in this schema, is itself resting atop a *mappamundi*, as Noah's Ark came to rest on Mount Ararat.[101] In an earlier work, Theodulf of Orléans (ca. 750–821) grounds the entirety of his treatise "On the Seven Liberal Arts Depicted in a Certain Map" (*De septem liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis*) on an image of the world. Baudri of Bourgueil (ca. 1045–1130), in a letter to Countess Adela of Blois, describes a mosaic T-O map on the floor of an imagined chamber.[102] By paging through the *Travels* and building up a personal mental map from its structure, readers could craft a similar diagrammatic guide for ordering their internal global spaces.

Today, few of us read with an intent to memorize, but Mandeville's contemporaries emphatically did. To derive full value from a text, to truly read, one had to incorporate it into oneself—perhaps not verbatim, but in its substance or matter, the *res*.[103] As such, the process of reading had two stages: *lectio,* a mode of engagement largely familiar to modern readers, followed by *meditatio*, the process of internalizing, memorializing, and reflecting upon the text.[104] Memory was taught as a component of reading, and Mary Carruthers suggests that the elision between the pedagogy of reading and memory became culturally normative in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries: the era that formed the sensibilities of the *Travels* author and its reader-users.[105]

The fantastical scenes that characterize the *Travels* come directly from commonplace advice on memorization, which depended on the making of images, even when the matter to be memorized was received textually or aurally. Indeed, memorial maps or *picturae* could be entirely verbal: Hugh of St. Victor's ark, which survives in fifty-three medieval manuscript versions, was never

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101 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 294.

102 Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 210–11, 214. For specific notes on maps as spatial receptacles, see Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 19.

103 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 11; see also 1–2, 203, 205, 211.

104 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 276.

105 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 129.

illustrated.[106] Conversely, according to Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590–604), pictures could present the same information as texts.[107] And for a lasting impression, whether visual or textual, these pictures had to be *impressive*. Frances Yates has speculated that the special memorability of strange, extreme, or unusual things offers "one possible explanation of the mediaeval love of the grotesque, the idiosyncratic."[108] Carruthers writes that because of this medieval impetus toward the unusual, "it may well be that some of what we suppose to be allegory, and thus to have a specifically iconographic meaning [...] is simply a mnemonic heuristic."[109] The more unusual, affective, or extravagant the image—a strength of Mandeville's text—the better for remembering. A reader would transform material to be memorized into images, *imagines*, yoking those *imagines* to personal, meaningful experiences (perhaps including visceral reactions to the *Travels*). Traditionally, *imagines* could capture both the memory of words for verbatim recollection (*memoria verborum*) or, more broadly, the import and basic contents of a text, conversation, or experience (*memoria rerum*).[110]

But even the most memorable *imagines* could not stand on their own. To be effective, they needed to be set into a mnemonic network within the overarching *pictura* that would allow for organized storage and ready recollection. Drawing on the classical tradition enshrined in the *Rhetorica ad herennium* (first century BCE), medieval memory practice relied on explicitly spatial frameworks of imagined places and pathways. A reader would begin by establishing sites within a specific physical imaginary: *loci / topoi* (places) or *sedes* (places, seats).[111] With these in place, one could proceed to store new information through a two-stage process: first, information was divided (*divisio*) into small, manageable pieces which were then arranged (*compositio* or *collatio*) into groups of between five and nine items each.[112] These groupings formed the formal basis for the reader's *imagines*, to be stored in the appropriate *loci*. Finally, the discrete *loci* were set in a network of pathways which the well-trained mind could swiftly traverse.

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106 Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 294.

107 Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum*, 270 (letter to Serenus, Bishop of Massilia).

108 Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 104.

109 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 177.

110 Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 174; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 211, 91.

111 Clanchy (*From Memory to Written Record*, 178) compares the information-retrieval process to "locating points on a map by latitude and longitude." According to Carruthers (*The Book of Memory*, 33), these sites "refer fundamentally to locations in the brain."

112 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 105.

Following these conventions, information relayed by the *Travels* is clustered in small, manageable groupings, each with a strong attachment to a place. These places, strikingly scenic and each storing approximately five pieces of information, are arranged in relation to others along itineraries through the *mappamundi*. Mandeville's discussion of bananas offers a typical example:

> Also, in this country [Egypt] and elsewhere one finds long apples for sale in season and they are called apples of Paradise, and they are sweet and good tasting, and if you slice them across in several places you always find in the middle the figure of the cross of Our Lord. But they go rotten within a week, and therefore this fruit cannot be taken to far countries. A good hundred of them are found in a bunch and they have large leaves a foot and a half long and proportionately wide.[113]

While bananas are found in multiple countries, Mandeville chooses to put the description of them in Egypt, fixing them in a specific locale to aid the reader's memory. The text has previously subdivided Egypt into two parts, five provinces, and a number of cities, enabling the reader to nest these *loci* within one another. Having established a location, the narrator next communicates five of the fruit's characteristics: it is long, tastes good and sweet, rots quickly, travels poorly, and bears the created world's Christological stamp. He then creates a vivid image to anchor this data: large leaves and massive bunches. The *imago* of the banana cluster holds the data in place. The narrator goes on to set this cluster within a larger clump of nearby fruits: a type of melon, a sycamore fig, and the balm shrub. This information, in turn, has a position along one of the text's several pathways to Jerusalem.

For expanded memory capacity beyond the *pictura* and *loci*, the *Travels* offers alphabetic tables: representations of the letters of Greek, Egyptian, Hebrew, Saracen (Arabic), and Chaldean (Syriac) alphabets, among others that Mandeville claims to have learned on his journeys. Moseley and Letts have argued that the inclusion of such alphabets was a not uncommon feature of late medieval travel narratives; Higgins, however, argues that their use in the *Travels* prompted the inclusion of alphabets in subsequent texts.[114] Either way, these alphabets grow increasingly imaginary over the course of the book and eventually become unmoored from the actual languages and cultures they claim to represent. But

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113 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 30–31.

114 Letts, "Introduction," in *Mandeville's Travels*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. Letts, xl; Moseley, "Appendices," in Mandeville, *The Travels*, ed. and trans. Moseley, 191; Higgins, "Appendix C," in Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 267.

this does not matter from a mnemonic standpoint; alphabets functioned as an important elementary tool for memory regardless of their veracity because information could adhere to each letter within an orderly structure, as if in a mental filing cabinet. Jorge Luis Borges captures this his short story, "The Aleph," in which the first letter in the Hebrew alphabet is "one of the points in space that contains all other points."[115] The story's narrator, looking at the Aleph, sees the world and everything in it, simultaneously, and remembers them so long as he keeps a clear memory of the letter itself.[116] We still teach basic spelling to children by connecting letters to sounds and memorable images: "A" is for "apple," "C" is for "cookie." But to avoid overloading any one alphabet with meaning, a savvy user should possess several: alpha is for Augustine, Ambrose, and Aquinas.[117] If Mandeville's alphabets primarily provided mnemonic structures and storage space, accuracy was neither expected nor necessary: they were empty and available, their very presence in the text a further cue to memory.

Not content to rely on these formal mechanisms, built into the narrative, many copies of the *Travels* also signal readers when they should be paying special attention. Data analysis of the English Cotton manuscript, for example, highlights the frequency of such markers: variants on the phrase "ye shall understand" appear more than three dozen times, the reader is told that they shall or should "wit" (and usually "wit well") more than another dozen, and information is offered so that they may or shall "know" a dozen times further.[118] These pedagogical imperatives and allusions to individual utility ("if ye will know…") are absent or minimal in the various source texts that the Mandeville author draws upon. However, they do appear in other contemporary European travel narratives, such as Burchard of Mount Sion's thirteenth-century *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, which sought to provide a vicarious, memorable tour for readers.[119]

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115 Borges, "The Aleph," in *The Aleph and Other Stories, 1933–1969*, ed. and trans. Norman Thomas di Giovanni, 23. See also Michell, "Preface to the Second Edition" in *Landscape and Power: Space, Place and Landscape*, 2nd ed., ed. Michell, ix.

116 Borges, "The Aleph," 28–29.

117 Higgins, "Appendix C," in Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 137.

118 For purposes of data mining, we have used the digitized version of the text available through The Internet Archive. See John Mandeville, *The Travels*, ed. and trans. Alfred W. Pollard: http://archive.org/details/travelsofsirjohn00manduoft (accessed June 2, 2018). While a wider variety of texts—and fidelity to original spelling—would have been preferable, the application of computer analysis to medieval texts remains immensely challenging in terms of both available corpora and the lack of standardized spelling.

119 Burchard of Mt. Sion, trans. Stewart.

The *Travels*' emphasis on memory, especially when compared to its sources, is notably clear in the prologue. There, Mandeville promises to dispense his knowledge to readers "according to what I can remember [...] and I will describe for them what way they might take."[120] In so doing, he makes his writing dependent upon his memory, tied to the pathways which he offers his readers. He finishes his prologue with an apology:

> And if I err in describing through not remembering or otherwise, they [readers who have been beyond the sea] can amend and correct it, for things long since passed out of view get forgotten and human memory cannot retain or contain everything.[121]

Higgins has suggested that the candid uncertainty of this framing invites active participation and editing, specifically welcoming emendations and additions. He marks the ethical importance of opening the *Travels* up to collective editing, seeing it as encouraging readers to adopt and reshape the text's concerns to match their own. Here, Higgins explicitly agrees with Carruthers's observations on ethical memories and the spiritually charged, virtuous connotations of medieval memory arts.[122] What Higgins undervalues is Mandeville's cautioning about the fallibility of personal recall and thus the consequent need for a structure, as when he tells his readers that "human memory cannot retain or contain everything." The *Travels*' conclusion sounds a similar warning note, as Mandeville writes that he has "compiled these things and put them into writing, such as I can remember."[123] It is notable that the world of the book comes bracketed by caveats about the limitations of the unaided human mind—the very issue that the *Travels*' mnemonic *mappamundi* can address.

Artisanal and Prefabricated Minds

Mandeville's book offers a solution to the constraints of personal memory, not only by providing a textual world but by encouraging structured emendation of the mental maps and written worlds of future reader-editors. In this, the *Travels* works in much the same way as the *isolarii* which, as Veronica della Dora argues, operated by offering a scaffold for performative mnemonic co-authorship.[124]

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120 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 5.

121 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 6.

122 Higgins, *Writing East*, 55.

123 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 185.

124 della Dora, "Performative Atlases," 249–51.

Individually, we cannot contain everything, but the frame of the world can and does. We cannot remember what we have not seen, but Mandeville has "seen" these things for us. He gives us the image of the world to internalize and the scenes within it to remember. Like the many medieval diagrams of *homo* and *mundus* overlaid, or the Ebstorf *mappamundi* embedded within Christ's capacious body, Mandeville invites his readers to place the world within themselves, and to retain and contain these things within the *Travels*' prefabricated system.[125]

And yet, according to a widely held tenet of medieval and ancient mnemonic orthodoxy, one ought not use a prefabricated system. Quintilian (35–100 CE) writes that "we must, of course, 'invent' for ourselves the mnemonic images we use, unlike our background places, which may be real or fictive." Geoffrey of Vinsauf (fl. 1200) disdains the *Rhetorica ad herennium*'s *notae* for being ready made.[126] Thierry of Chartes (ca. 1100–1150), Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–1280), and Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) all join this chorus of cautions.[127] But these are master practitioners speaking to hopeful peers, and recent work in other areas of intellectual history has demonstrated the value of going beyond the preferred practices of the most artful specialists and considering people who operated in different orbits of ability and interest.[128] We know that non-specialists employed systems of memory as well, even if theirs were more workaday and vernacular. By the fourteenth century, Yates observed, "artificial memory was coming out into the world, was being recommended to laymen as a devotional exercise."[129] Carruthers has noted that lay users of memorial systems likely included "students and professors [...] friars [...] bureaucratic clerks, merchants, physicians, and notaries," many of whom relied increasingly on memory techniques as aids for public speaking.[130] A prefabricated system would have met their needs perfectly well.

There is evidence, in fact, that even semi-learned practitioners used prefabricated mnemonic systems. Reprimanding his monks for using pre-existing models, Bernard of Clairvaux indirectly exposes a wide spectrum of memory

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125 Naomi Kline's work has considered the connections between the circular diagrams, *rotae*, which Carruthers highlights and the circular nature of the *mappamundi* world: Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*, 1–48.

126 Cited by Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 80, 392n84, 182; see also 296.

127 See: Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 180, 189; Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 84–85. Carruthers has more on this topic in *The Book of Memory* at 80, 97–98, 296, 335–36, and 392.

128 For an exemplary study see Maxson, *The Humanist World of Renaissance Florence*.

129 Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 86, 89.

130 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 183, 192.

practice that extends beyond the cloister walls. While he argues that monks ought to work independently and diligently in constructing their mnemonic systems, Bernard nevertheless admits that the process requires such an investment of skill and discipline that laymen might understandably require others' images.[131] Hugh of Fouilloy (ca. 1100–1172) created a pictorial text for beginners as a "model of how to make *imagines*."[132] Similarly, Peter of Poiters (ca. 1130–1215) created a schematic, illustrated diagram of biblical history mapped into the genealogy of Christ, so as to help students memorize the information through the diagram's visual layout.[133]

Yet current work on medieval *artes memoriae* has focused almost entirely on how experts in mnemonic techniques described the workings of their own memories.[134] Consequently, we have paid attention to only one end of a broad spectrum, neglecting the mnemonic techniques used by those without the time, resources, or inclination to craft artisanal systems. And here the *Travels* reveals another reason for its appeal and proliferation: it was a text available across classes, languages, and even literacies. Its popularity was bound up with its *utility*. Its reader-users included dukes, knights, gentlewomen, priests, grocers, barbers, and apprentices from across Europe—and they wanted the world.[135] That is, they wanted the global knowledge that Mandeville's text contained and they wanted it in a format and language that they could grasp—a fact reflected in the author's proclaimed decision to write in French "so that everyone can understand it."[136] The *Travels*' cartographic template made its information accessible and attainable to users with only rudimentary education in the *artes memoriae*. By fixing each piece of information in place—both within the reader's global imaginary and within their physical memory of the pages' internal geographies—Mandeville obviates the need for constructing and filling one's own *pictura*. All of the *Travels*' measurements, routes, places, and creatures function together as an organizing schematic. The narrative network, centred on Jerusalem and encompassing the whole *mappamundi*, links scene to scene, place to place, and page to page, holding and connecting data of all

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131 Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 84–85.

132 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 308.

133 Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers*, 99.

134 For commentary on this, see, for example: Brenner, Cohen, and Franklin-Brown, "Introduction," 5; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 10–11.

135 See: Higgins, "Introduction" in Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, xvii; Moseley, " 'Whet-Stone Leasings of Old *Maundeuile*,' " 32; Seymour, "Mandeville in England: The Early Years," 15–27; Tzanaki, *Audiences*, 4–5, 12–14.

136 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 6.

kinds, all presented for maximum ease of recall. If the classically trained memory is "a store-house, a treasure-chest, a vessel into which the jewels, coins, fruits, and flowers of texts are placed," the *Travels* offers a prefurnished apartment.[137] Mandeville's readers could inhabit the text's mental world immediately, as-is, if they chose. But they could also modify it to suit their needs.

The *Travels*' very structure offers the potential for great adaptability. While many versions of the text display variety, any version requires only a few key elements: the titular knight as travelling proxy; an emphasis on eyewitnessing or sight; a *mappamundi* framework; a network of *loci* mapped upon it; and pieces of information (*res*) to store within the *loci*. Even the purely pictorial, scene-by-scene Bohemian version of the *Travels* follows these basic precepts. With these elements intact, the story could change significantly from one isotope to another yet maintain its basic identity and mnemonic utility. Information and *loci* could be substituted or swapped, routes might be added or removed, data updated, and sections replaced.

This managed variability not only helps to explain the bewildering plenitude of manuscript variants, it explains the *Travels*' unusually wide and enduring reach. Mandeville offered a world for all comers and a map for all memories.

Thinking Through the World

Up to this point we have advanced a series of arguments, several of which are discordant with previous scholarship. We have shown that the Mandeville's *Travels* is not merely *like* a map, but is in fact a *mappamundi*. We have revealed that the text's cartography, as experienced by the reader-user, provides a standardized mnemonic template of the sort medieval memory experts counselled against. Further, we have noted that prior studies of the *artes memoriae* have focused only on the highest tiers of mnemonic practice, to the exclusion of more widespread and accessible practices exemplified by the *Travels,* which made it possible for a wide array of readers to map their own memories onto the medieval world.

In 1402–1403, at the height of the *Travels*' popularity, Christine de Pizan (1364–1430) set out an allegorical dream-vision in *Le livre du chemin de long estude* (The Book of the Path of Long Study).[138] The book begins with the author-narrator reading Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and pondering both the

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137 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 318.

138 Sarah Kay suggests a secondary meaning to Christine's title: "The long way round my bookshelves." She sees the poem as "a creative rereading of Christine's own library. Her study, that is, is a place of thought because it is the place where she herself sits, reads, and thinks. The ensuing text is a journey around the mind of a reader": Kay, *The Place of Thought*, 158.

nature of thought and the unhappy state of the world. In her vision, the Sibyl guides Christine through a now-familiar landscape: the memory-world as unmistakably described by John Mandeville.[139] The Sibyl offers to expand Christine's intellectual acuity "because of the goodness of [her] memory, whose conceptual ability is powerful."[140] The experience is transformative, because the Sibyl has shown Christine how she can leverage her memory of these locations to advance her own scholarship. Christine admits prior familiarity with the route, writing that she was "already well acquainted with [it and …] had followed it in the past, but I had never gone so high before. […] I had formerly seen these splendid places, without, however, being so attracted to them; on the contrary, I used to consider them of little value."[141] By linking these places to knowledge, the Sibyl teaches Christine how she can clarify and improve her habits of thought and reach new heights of cognition on the foundations of a globally-structured memory.

To demonstrate this method, the Sibyl leads Christine along the Path of Long Study throughout the (imagined) world. This path which "unfolds as easily as parchment does, is reserved for the learned who wish to pass through the world without searching for a more profound route." But it excludes the lazy and is "restricted to those who are eager to understand and who delight in learning."[142] It originates in a "lovely, well-made place" from whence "many pathways led out."[143] These pathways are irrigated by the Fountain of Wisdom and are the very paths the philosophers used to follow; the Sibyl implies that great scholars—from Socrates and Plato to Galen and Avicenna—each have their own associated place, along with poets like Homer who constructed their works from the "branches" they collected in this world.[144] While these famous scholars may be clustered in Christine's mind

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139 Toynbee, "Christine de Pisan and Sir John Maundeville," 228–39; Tzanaki, *Audiences*, 111; Higgins, *Writing East*, xii.

140 Christine de Pizan, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, in *Selected Writings*, 66, ln. 500–504.

141 Christine de Pizan, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, in *Selected Writings*, 74; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre*, 48–49, ln. 1109–1024.

142 Christine de Pizan, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, in *Selected Writings*, 72; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre*, 40, ln. 932–42. Kay notes that Christine uses rich rhyme to further yoke together scholarship and landscape, with pairs such as "*lettree*: *contree* (*CLE*, 863–64)," and "*passage*: *faire sage* (*CLE*, 865–66)." Kay, *The Place of Thought*, 163.

143 Christine de Pizan, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, in *Selected Writings* , 69; Christine de Pizan, *Le lLivre*, 31–32, ln. 732–33.

144 Christine de Pizan, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, in *Selected Writings*, 71, 72–73; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre*, 37, 44–45, 46, ln. 847–52, ln. 1020–43, 1061–64.

near the fountain, she imagines that in their own day they likewise wandered the pathways of the world to gather their *imagines*. The Sibyl underlines the importance of a world etched in mnemonic tracks, insisting that not only does the Path of Long Study lead "to all the places in the world" but that there are still other routes that crisscross the globe: "These transverse roads that you see (that only the wise are allowed to utilize) lead everywhere under the sun that people travel."[145]

Along the Path of Long Study, the Sibyl insists that Christine must learn the properties of all flora, fauna, peoples, and concepts.[146] Apart from these explicit references to memory, Christine repeatedly mentions marvels and emotions, which serve as aids to retention; she insists, with frequent superlatives, that this space contains everything; she records that the paths are open to "people of all ranks"; and she carefully distinguishes such mental travels from the experience of real-world travel.[147] Christine even borrows and augments nested memory palaces from Mandeville: in Constantinople, for example, she notes "many high pillars and many private little rooms very subtly decorated, many lovely and strange images [*ymage*]—I assure you that they were extraordinary [*Merveillable*]."[148] In this case, she has placed her own marvellous *imagines* within Mandeville's "very beautiful and well-arranged palace of the emperor," besides which "is a beautiful area for jousting and games that is all in tiers, and there are steps all around [...] and under these steps are arched stables [...] and all the pillars in them are of marble."[149] Inside Mandeville's ready-made "well-arranged" palace, Christine has repurposed the pillars.

Having completed the stage of *investigatio*, Christine climbs up to the firmament on a ladder made of *[s]peculacion* so that she can experience *ymaginacion*.[150] Here, the poem shifts from the language of learning and knowledge to Christine's active thinking; she describes herself in contemplation, attempting to understand, observing, concentrating, regarding, and other such acts of cognition. In this place of imagination, she listens as Lady Reason holds court. Finally, Reason

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145 Christine de Pizan, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, *Selected Writings*, 71; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre* 38, ln. 887–92.

146 Christine de Pizan, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, in *Selected Writings Pizan*, 79; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre*, 65, ln. 1500–10.

147 Christine de Pizan, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, in *Selected Writings*, 70; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre*, 33, ln. 775.

148 Christine de Pizan, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, in *Selected Writings*, 75; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre*, 52, ln. 1205–9.

149 Mandeville, *The Book*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 13.

150 Christine de Pizan, *Le livre*, 71, ln. 1643 and 1636.

sends Christine back to earth to report on the debates she has heard, reassured by Christine that nothing will be left out because she has written everything down.[151] Christine thereby reveals that she has been describing the process of writing this very poem, a process which she divides into two distinct phases, the earthly and the heavenly. In order for the heavenly work of imagination, thought, and com-position to occur, Christine must first assemble knowledge from the *loci* in her memory where she has stored her *imagines*. In doing so, she models her own personalized journey through the world Mandeville has mapped for his readers.

We do not share Christine's thought processes and, except in rare cases, our memory is untutored. We do not elide memory and reading, or memory and thinking. We rely on remembered experiences to inform our thinking, but we do not regard them as intrinsic to cogitation. And while we may agree that we are formed *by* our experiences, we give little attention to the overall form *of* those accumulated experiences. We even lack the experience of shaping our memories through the recollection of spatially organized things. We therefore miss the implications of what might occur when a mnemonic device becomes integral to structuring the act of thinking.

Were Mandeville's readers better equipped to think globally than we are? The most widely disseminated, and presumably most widely used, mnemonic text produced in late medieval Europe was a *mappamundi*. The *Travels'* reader-users accessed, internalized, and then *thought through* that specific global framework. What would it mean to have a sizable population thinking globally and reading other texts through the framework of the world? In addition to imagining them-selves in terms of their local or regional spaces, they would also have processed information through a method that encouraged them to inhabit and move through the world.[152] Even an apprentice wandering around London might think of himself as a global entity, his sense of consciousness and identity channelled through a *mappamundi* both strange and intimate. Geraldine Heng and Lynn Ramey have noted a medieval "planetary system of literatures" consisting of "global themes, global subjects, global purview, and [...] global imaginary."[153] To this list we would add

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151 Christine de Pizan, trans. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee, in *Selected Writings*, 87; Christine de Pizan, *Le livre*, 268–69, ln. 6347–58.

152 Kim M. Phillips observes that "the stubborn caricature of medieval people as confined within limited geographical horizons, with village dwellers rarely venturing even to the next hamlet, now holds little sway in serious scholarship": Phillips, "Travel, Writing, and the Global Middle Ages," 81.

153 Heng and Ramey, "Early Globalities," 389.

global perspective. Through the *Travels*, Mandeville gave European readers a strongly internalized, proprietary hold on the world. Lands, climates, flora, fauna, and even people were there for the reader's use, to be invested with whatever meaning and function the reader pleased. Mandeville does not describe any European peoples; they are neither curiosities nor objects of utility.[154] Rather, he creates a mnemonic framework that makes the world theirs.

This mapping of the world through a Christian European imaginary had far-reaching consequences.[155] The connections among climate, global positioning, and moralized racial habits which Mandeville charts have a long *nachleben* in European perceptions of equatorial spaces and peoples.[156] Where Sara Ahmed finds the promise of a longer "history of race, as the history of the emergence of categories of thought that have become unthinking, that have become categories of being," the *Travels* reveals itself as an avenue through which reader-users could abstract clusters and races of peoples into (literal) categorical containers for thought.[157] Over time, users would fix these categorical containers, these peoples, into ever more rigid and estranged racial groups. Though ostensibly all-encompassing, the Mandeville *mappamundi* is not equitable; its manifold cartographic decisions on the representation of race, humanity, agency, and scale all acted to situate the European West as the privileged space of normalized existence.[158]

One the one hand, a mnemonic Mandeville rejects the modern understanding of a purely European Middle Ages, or of a medieval Europe that only thought in terms of its own geospecific self-identity.[159] If a segment of the European population was

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154 This distinction between user and utility speaks to Nishitani Osamu's elucidation of the difference between *anthropos* and *humanitas*, and their asymmetrical relationship as object of knowledge versus self-defined subject of knowledge: "Anthropos and Humanitas," 260.

155 E.g. Charkrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

156 For examples of these issues at play in later colonial discourses, see Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History*, For a study of the ways that European colonial powers used place-name etymology to render California into an island space imbued with proprietary narratives of ownership and history, see Riley, "Anachronous Antipodes" in this issue.

157 Ahmed, "Race as Sedimented History," 95.

158 Mittman, "Are the 'Monstrous Races' Races?," passim, and esp. 47–49.

159 Heng and Ramey, "Early Globalities," 392. In concert with *The Medieval Globe*, many ongoing and new initiatives have argued for the dismantling of medieval Europe as a cultural isolate: e.g. the new journal *Medieval Worlds*; the *Postmedieval* supplementary issue *Making Race Matter in the Middle Ages* 6.1, ed. Cord J. Whitaker (Spring 2015); the Scholarly Community for the Globalization of the Middle Ages digital humanities project and repository; Ramey, Heng, and Noakes, "Global Middle Ages Project: G-Map," *Global Middle Ages*: http://globalmiddleages.org (accessed June 13, 2018).

literally thinking globally, then the vast expanse of the world was a component of their daily lives. On the other hand, this means that medieval Europeans deliberately fashioned their conscious selves both in contrast to and, crucially, through mental appropriation of other peoples and lands. How might we re-evaluate texts and artifacts from this era with a global perspective as the default? How might this habit of mental appropriation have informed the ambitions and agendas of late medieval explorers like Christopher Columbus, who took a copy of the *Travels* with him on his voyage in 1492? These will be hard questions to answer, not least because we are deeply alienated from Mandeville's medieval audience; our minds and our modes of reading are systemically unprepared to compass theirs. But in this increasingly digital age, when we do so much work of memory through external devices and applications, we have travelled back around to Mandeville's way of thinking. We collaboratively store knowledge at digital locations, share organizing structures, and walk global pathways of memory and composition together. In short, we are in a better position to understand the importance of knowledge maps than anyone since the Middle Ages.

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